

159 much aroused by the beating of their fellows, later became wary when
612 they began to realize that many of the Ta Yu villagers taking an active
628 part on that side were their own *ch'in ch'i* relatives. To participate
actively thus meant fighting against relatives with whom it has always
been considered important to maintain good relations. Although these
people still wanted to help Li Fan and their own village, they could
not do so openly, but rather had to do it in secret.

Other villagers, because of their *ch'in ch'i* relatives in Ta Yu, could
not or would not help even in secret, although some continued to pay
lip service to the cause of their fellow villager. There were, however, a
few villagers who could not even do this. They felt such strong loyal-
ties to their *ch'in ch'i* that they acted as "spies," telling their Ta Yu
ch'in ch'i of the plans being made in Hsin Hsing to fight the case.
Obviously, they considered their relationships with their *ch'in ch'i*
more important than those with their fellow villagers. This was real-
ized by the Hsin Hsing villagers who, although somewhat angry, could
do nothing more than attempt to keep these people from learning
their plans for the case.

159 The village mayor and several others who might otherwise have
621 been organizers in Li Fan's behalf were among those who could give
628 only limited open help. Therefore, on the Hsin Hsing side there was a
complete absence of organized leadership. For want of someone who
could or would lead, the village did little except talk about the case.¹

Not very long after the day of the beating the story of the incident
had spread through the whole area. People were talking about the case
so much that the winning of it by Hsin Hsing now became as much a
matter of face as anything else. Hsin Hsing villagers began to express
fears that "if these two Ta Yu villagers were to go unpunished, it would
mean that anyone could beat Hsin Hsing villagers or their children at
will." No one would respect their rights or face any more if they did
nothing about the case.

159 As some days passed without anything being accomplished in the
62 matter, some villagers who could openly show concern in the case (for
618 example, a few *ch'in tsu* and *ch'in ch'i* of Li Fan and his father and
612 also some of their close friends in the village) became active in Li Fan's
behalf. They managed to gather together the village men to discuss the
matter at a meeting. During the course of the meeting, it became
evident that the villagers generally did not know what course of action
to take. Their main hope was to settle the matter through the tradi-
[692] tional process of mediation rather than take the case through the
courts. They feared that going to court would be expensive and take a
great deal of time before settlement. But, perhaps even more impor-
tant, they felt that because they were a small and poor village which
was up against a large village and a wealthy, influential pumping

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

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station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.⁹ The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

794 temple is the central focus for various religious festi-
778 vals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major
778 temple committee, selected by a process of consensus,
623 consisting of the senior and most respected men in the
community. The committee is in charge of a small plot
of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the
temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for
the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of
temple affairs.

796 Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring
794 on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major
624 temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his repre-
[787] sentative comes to the temple and casts the shen pai³ with
its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the
most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot
master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant
potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin
(legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same
[562] manner. Potmasters have never been female but females
have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the
office and females are often assistant potmasters.⁴

796 The special committee is responsible for planning
• 62 the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it.
794 If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of
the major temple committee is usually added as an ex
officio member.⁵ A special committee will meet six or
seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

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794 out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They
796 may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show.
• 62 or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event.
[345] etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant postmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from \$10.00 to \$200.00.

796 After the ceremony is over, people talk about how
794 good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three
[659] days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeeding day, i.e., an opera costs \$2,000.00 the first day, \$1,400.00 the second, and \$1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Maichu procession and New Years.